

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 01702 01 OF 02 261708Z

46

ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 ACDE-00 OMB-01 AEC-11 AECE-00

IO-14 OIC-04 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00

NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20 SAM-01 SSO-00

NSCE-00 INRE-00 USIE-00 NEA-10 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DRC-01

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1757

SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 1702

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: INFORMAL DISCUSSION WITH EASTERN

REPS FEBRUARY 26, 1974

FROM US REP MBFR

REF: STATE 37818

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: REFTEL RECEIVED PRIOR TO MEETING
ON FEBRUARY 26 OF UK REP NETHERLANDS REP AND US REP
AND SOVIET REPS, CZECHOSLOVAK REP AND GDR REP TO
CLARIFY OPEN POINTS REMAINING FROM FEBRUARY 20
INFORMAL SESSION. AFTER DISCUSSION, MEETING WAS
SUCCESSFUL IN CLARIFYING THESE POINTS. THE PARTICI-
PANTS AGREED TO DEFINE CONTENT OF FIRST SEVEN

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 01702 01 OF 02 261708Z

SESSIONS. FIRST THREE WOULD BE DEVOTED TO ISSUE OF

GROUND FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS, WITH THE FIRST OF THESE EXCLUSIVELY ON US-SOVIET FORCES. THE EAST WOULD AVAIL ITSELF OF THE RIGHT TO RAISE THE ISSUE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND AIR FORCES IN THE THREE FOLLOWING SESSIONS. IN THE SEVENTH SESSION, PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE FREE TO RAISE WHATEVER ISSUE THEY WISHED IN CONNECTION WITH THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT WAS AGREED TO HOLD THE NEXT INFORMAL SOCIAL SESSION IN THE LATE AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 27 AND TO DETERMINE THE DATES OF THE FOLLOWING WEEK'S SESSIONS AT THAT TIME. END SUMMARY.

2. UK REP OPENED DISCUSSION BY PRESENTING THE TALKING POINTS AGREED ON PREVIOUS DAY BY AD HOC GROUP. AFTER CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION, KHLESTOV AGREED WITH ALLIED VIEWPOINT THAT THREE SESSIONS WOULD BE DEVOTED TO THE FIRST TOPIC OF "GROUND FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS." THE FIRST OF THESE WOULD BE DEVOTED EXCLUSIVELY TO US-SOVIET GOUND FORCES. IN THE SECOND, THE QUESTION OF THE FORCES OF OTHER DIRECT PARTICIPANTS MIGHT BE ADDRESSED, WHILE THE QUESTION OF PHASING "STAGES MIGHT BE RAISED AT ANY POINT DURING THE THREE SESSIONS.

3. DISCUSSION FOCUSSED ON THE SECOND DISCUSSION HEADING "OTHER TOPICS." KHLESTOV COMPLAINED THAT UK REPS REMARKS SHOWED ALLIES HAD BROUGHT IN COMPLETELY NEW INTERPRETATION OF THE SECOND POINT. IN THE SOVIET VIEW, THE SECOND POINT "OTHER TOPICS" MEANT NOT ONLY THAT EAST HAD RIGHT TO RAISE AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR FORCES BUT THAT THESE POINTS WOULD BE DISCUSSED AND WOULD BE THE ONLY CONTENT OF THIS ITEM IN THE FIRST ROUND OF SESSIONS. IT ALSO SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS PHASING AND STAGING IN CONNECTION WITH THIS TOPIC OR ANYTHING ELSE ANY PARTICIPANT WISHED TO BRING UP IN DIRECT CONNECTION WITH IT. UK REP POINTED OUT THAT THE ALLIES HAD NOT AGREED TO AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES AS A TITLE FOR DISCUSSION SINCE THEY DID NOT THEMSELVES ENVISAGE RAISING THIS ISSUE. AFTER LONG DISCUSSION IN PREVIOUS SESSIONS, THE TITLE

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 01702 01 OF 02 261708Z

"OTHER TOPICS" HAD BEEN AGREED AND THE ALLIED REPS HAD AGREED THAT EAST COULD RAISE NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES UNDER THIS HEADING BY VIRTUE OF RIGHT OF ALL PARTICIPANTS TO RAISE TOPICS UNDER THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE.

4. UK REP CONTINUED THAT THE EAST COULD RAISE THESE TOPICE IF IT DESIRED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS RIGHT AND THE ALLIES WOULD COMMENT ON THEM. HE WOULD NOT

SAY IN ADVANCE WHAT COMMENTS ALLIES WOULD MAKE BECAUSE THIS WOULD BE GETTING INTO SUBSTANCE, BUT EAST ALREADY KNEW ALLIED VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT. THE REASON THE ALLIES USED DIFFERENT WORDING IN RELATIONSHIP TO THE SECOND ITEM WAS THAT IN THE FIRST ITEM THERE WAS SOME COMMON GROUND. BUT ON THE OTHER HAND, THE SECOND ITEM CONCERNED A TOPIC THE ALLIES DID NOT WISH TO RAISE BUT WHERE THEY RECOGNIZED THE EASTERN RIGHT TO DO SO. HOWEVER, THIS RIGHT TO RAISE TOPICS OF ONE'S CHOICE UNDER THE HEADING OF "OTHER TOPICS" SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUSIVELY RESERVED TO EAST. UK REP MADE CLEAR THAT UNDER THE HEADING "OTHER TOPICS" ALLIES WISHED TO HAVE THE RIGHT TO ADD FURTHER TOPICS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE. HE SUGGESTED ALLIES MIGHT REQUEST A FOURTH SESSION ON THIS TOPIC FOR THIS PURPOSE.

5. KHESTOV ARGUED THAT POINTS MADE BY UK REP WERE NOT CONVINCING. TO SPECIFY TOPICS FOR CONSIDERATION WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO SUBSTANCE TO THE POSITION OF EITHER SIDE AND DID NOT MEAN AGREEMENT ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THOSE TOPICS. FOR EXAMPLE, UK AND FRG DID NOT INTEND TO REDUCE THEIR FORCES IN THE FIRST ROUND. TO AGREE TO DISCUSS "GROUND FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS" DID NOT THEREFORE MEAN UK AND FRG HAD THEREBY AGREED TO REDUCE FROM THE OUTSET. THE FACT THAT EAST HAD SHOWN FLEXIBILITY IN DESIGNATING THE SECOND TOPIC AS "OTHER TOPICS" DID NOT MEAN EAST WOULD NOT WANT TO DISCUSS AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES UNDER THIS HEADING. IF ALLIES PERSISTED ON PRESENT LINE, EAST WOULD BE OBLIGED TO SAY THAT THE SECOND TOPIC SHOULD BE FORMALLY DESIGNATED "AIR FORCES AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS."

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 VIENNA 01702 01 OF 02 261708Z

6. UK REP MADE CLEAR THAT SINCE ALLIES DID NOT CONTEST RIGHT TO EAST TO RAISE NUCLEAR AND AIR FORCES UNDER PROVISIONS OF JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE, THE ALLIES THEMSELVES DID NOT WISH TO ABANDON THEIR RIGHT TO RAISE OTHER TOPICS OF INTEREST TO THEM UNDER THAT COMMUNIQUE. EAST SHOULD NOT HAVE THIS RIGHT EXCLUSIVELY, EVEN THOUGH ALLIES MIGHT NOT HAVE ANY SPECIFIC INTENTION TO ANNOUNCE AT THIS TIME AS REGARDS RAISING TOPICS UNDER IT. THEY MERELY WISHED IT UNDERSTOOD THAT THEY HAD RIGHT TO DO SO IF THEY DECIDED ON IT. IF ALLIES WOULD WANT TO RAISE ADDITIONAL TOPICS, THE NUMBER OF SESSIONS COULD BE INCREASED.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 01702 02 OF 02 261715Z

46

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 1702

FROM US REP MBFR

7. KHLESTOV CLAIMED THIS WAS A NEW DEVELOPMENT WHICH REVISED THE PREVIOUS UNDERSTANDING. EAST WANTED TO DISCUSS ONLY AIR AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER THE SECOND HEADING WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT IF THE PARTICIPANTS WISHED TO INCREASE THE NUMBER OF MEETINGS ON EITHER OF THE TWO ITEMS, THEY COULD AGREE TO DO SO. UK REP SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT TO ASSURE THAT WEST HAD SAME RIGHT AS EAST TO RAISE ISSUES OF ITS OWN UNDER HEADING OF "OTHER TOPICS" IN THE FIRST ROUND. KHLESTOV INSISTED THAT THE FIRST ROUND SHOULD DEAL ONLY WITH ISSUES CONNECTED WITH REDUCTIONS. THIS WOULD NOT MEAN OTHER ELEMENTS COULD NOT BE DISCUSSED AT A LATER TIME. UK REP AGAIN EXPLAINED THAT ALLIES HAD AGREED TO HEADING
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 01702 02 OF 02 261715Z

"OTHER TOPICS" BECAUSE IT WAS A NEUTRAL TITLE SINCE THE ALLIES WERE NOT IN A POSITION TO AGREE ON A TOPIC FOR AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES BECAUSE THIS WAS NOT PART OF THEIR PROGRAM. UNDER THIS HEADING, EAST HAD ANNOUNCED ITS INTENTION TO RAISE AIR AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. ALLIES ACCEPTED EAST'S RIGHT TO DO SO. TO SAY THAT ONE SIDE WISHED TO "RAISE" A TOPIC MADE CLEAR WHOSE INTEREST WAS INVOLVED IN BRINGING UP THE SUBJECT.

8. KHLESTOV COMPLAINED THAT THESE REMARKS INDICATED THAT ALLIES WISHED TO ENLARGE THE TOPICS OF THE FIRST ROUND. THIS WOULD NOT WORK. US REP SUGGESTED THAT PARTICIPANTS NOW AGREE THAT THERE WOULD BE NOT SIX, BUT SEVEN SESSIONS. THE FIRST THREE SESSIONS WOULD COVER GROUND FORCES OF DIRECT PARTICIPANTS. IN THE SECOND THREE SESSIONS, EAST WOULD TAKE ADVANTAGE OF ITS RIGHT TO RAISE THE AIR AND NUCLEAR TOPIC AND THE SEVENTH SESSION COULD COVER ANOTHER TOPIC.

9. HKLESTOV ASKED FOR A BREAK FOR CONSULTATION WITH HIS EASTERN COLLEAGUES. AFTER RETURNING, HE SAID THAT TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE LAST SUGGESTION REGARDING A TOTAL OF SEVEN SESSIONS, THE EAST WAS PREPARED TO AGREE THAT THREE SESSIONS WOULD BE DEVOTED TO THE FIRST TOPIC WHOSE CONTENT WOULD BE AS AGREED EARLIER IN THE PRESENT DISCUSSION. THREE SESSIONS WOULD BE DEVOTED TO "OTHER TOPICS" UNDER WHICH WOULD BE UNDERSTOOD AIR AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THERE WOULD BE A SEVENTH MEETING IN WHICH EACH PARTICIPANT WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO RAISE ANY TOPIC THEY WISHED.

10. UK REP SAID THIS PROPOSAL APPREARED TO MEET THE SPECIFICATIONS OF HIS EARLIER PROPOSAL THAT IN THE FIRST SESSIONS, ALLIED REPS HAVE THE RIGHT TO RAISE OTHER TOPICS OF THEIR OWN INTEREST. NETHERLANDS AND US REPS AGREED. IT WAS THEN AGREED THAT THE NEXT INFORMAL SOCIAL SESSION WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE AFTERNOON OF FEBRUARY 27 AND WOULD BE DEVOTED TO US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES.

11. COMMENT: WITH REGARD TO PARAGRAPH 3 OF REFTTEL,
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SECRET

PAGE 03 VIENNA 01702 02 OF 02 261715Z

THE FACT THAT AGREEMENT HAS NOW BEEN REACHED THAT
THRE SHOULD BE A SEVENTH SESSION WHERE PARTICI-

PANTS CAN RAISE SUBJECTS OF THEIR OWN CHOICE
MEANS THAT ALLIES COULD DECIDE TO RAISE STABILIZING
MEASURES IN THE SEVENTH SESSION OF THE FIRST ROUND,
WHICH IT HAS BEEN TENTATIVELY AGREED BY THE ALLIES
SHOULD TAKE PLACE AT AN INCREASED TEMPO OF TWO
SESSIONS PER WEEK STARTING WITH THE WEEK OF MARCH 3
FOLLOWING THE INITIAL SESSION ON FEBRUARY 27.
ALTERNATIVELY, THE ALLIES MIGHT AGREE THAT STABILIZING
MEASURES SHOULD BE HANDLED IN THE SECOND ROUND OF
DISCUSSIONS WHICH WOULD PRESUMABLY BEGIN IN THE
WEEK OF MARCH 24. THIS DECISION WILL DEPEND ON THE
WAY THE TACTICAL SITUATION ACTUALLY DEVELOPS.
WE DO NOT CONSIDER, GIVEN EXTENSIVE EAST-WEST DIS-
CUSSION WHICH HAS TAKEN PLACE THUS FAR THAT
OMISSION OF ANY TOPIC FROM FIRST ROUND OF DISCUSSION
HAS ANY EFFECT ON ITS STANDING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
OUR OBJECTIVE REMAINS TO BRING FOCUS TO BEAR ON
US-SOVIET GROUND FORCES AND COMMON CEILING.
END COMMENT. HUMES

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